X

The Indian dress—Discovery of the watch—Half-past three —It strikes the alarm—Gathering up the plunder—A heart-rending sight—Probable cause of being unexpectedly attacked—The infernal pantomime—Blindfolded and lashed to a mule—Departure of the caravan—The uncomfortable ride—Performances on the tightrope—Tremendous applause—The night encampment—Favorite food of the Comanches—Appearance of the captives—Amusements at supper—Horseflesh hissing hot—Put to bed and tucked up —The captive's night thoughts—Crossing the river in a buffalo skin—The war whoop—Arrival at an Indian village —The wonderful watch—Original doctrines—The war dance—Description of an Indian village.

I soon became aware that the only members of the party who escaped the massacre, which proved to have been bloody as it was sudden, were Thomas Martin, John Stewart, Aikens, and myself. The first two had been secured much in the same manner I was, but Aikens, who was sleeping in a tent, had succeeded in escaping a short distance, and had engaged in a hot scuffle, during which he fired upon his assailants before he was overpowered. The first step taken by the savages, after the confusion had subsided, was to strip us of every particle of apparel, and clothe us in their own fashion of dress, which consisted simply [29] of buckskin leggins, with a hunting shirt of the same material fringed at the bottom, and at the cuffs, and tied in front with strings.

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
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solved to make their disgusting horseflesh serve the double purpose of supplying us food for the body, and themselves food for mirth. In our Indian dresses, which consisted of leggins rising only to the knee, and a short hunting coat, the upper portion of the leg, that is, above the leggin, was necessarily bare. As we sat upon the ground together, our feet tied, it was likewise necessarily exposed. When the meat designed for us had boiled until the fat began to fry and sputter, they would throw it with such marvelous dexterity from the end of their roasting sticks, that it would fall on our naked limbs hissing hot. If the laziest reader of this book will try a similar experiment on himself, he will find it admirably calculated to arouse his activity. I venture to affirm he will squirm more energetically, turn over quicker, and throw a greater amount of exercise into a given period than he ever did before in his life. It had the same effect on us, and the muscular demonstrations we made during the exhibition "brought down the house" far more uproariously than any of our previous performances during the day. It resulted in my declining supper altogether, having a prejudice against the waiters in attendance, and of raising broad blisters on my persŏn, the scars of which I will carry with me to the grave.

At the conclusion of these exercises, so refreshing on one side and so painful on the other, the warriors threw themselves on the ground to sleep. They lay near each other, forming a large circle, leaving a space in the center some fifty feet in diameter. Our sleeping apartment was in this space, and we were "put to bed and tucked up" in the following original fashion: First, we were made to lie down upon our backs, with our arms and feet extended. Four stakes were then driven firmly through the sward, to which our hands and feet were fastened, holding us in such a

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
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439 The buffalo robe is the principal, and indeed, so far as I know, their only article of commerce—their only source of wealth. At a certain season every year they are transported to the confines of Mexico, and sold to parties of Mexican traders who annually meet them there, and receive in compensation hatchets, knives, and such other implements as are used by them, together with cheap calicoes, mescal, and a great variety of trinkets.

291 It has previously been stated that the men dress in buckskin. The women do likewise, to a great extent, but most of them wear a sort of short gown made of the calico thus obtained. Children, until they arrive at the age of eight or nine, do not take the trouble to dress in anything.

515 In their personal habits they are supremely nasty. Occasionally, in warm weather, they bathe in the river, but daily ablutions are not thought of, so that they are constantly covered with dirt and vermin.

582 The institution of marriage is recognized, and governed by established laws. When a young man becomes enamored and resolves to take a wife, he presents himself before the council and makes known his desire. If there are no objections on the part of the maiden or her parents, the council decrees that they may live together in the matrimonial relation one moon. If, at the end of that time, there has arisen no dissension between them, and they are mutually satisfied, they are permitted to continue the relation another moon, and if they live together harmoniously through that, the knot is irrevocably tied. The system of matrimony among them, therefore, seems to be founded on the principle of the rule of three.

764 Equally peculiar is their mode of burial. When a warrior dies, his body is carried out and laid upon the ground, his head always toward the west. A pen is then built up around

among his wives, there was one who treated me with all the kindness I had previously received at the hands of Moko, the young consort of the Big Wolf, and she was *Kianceta*, the Weasel.

At the end of four days, Big Wolf again made his appearance, attended by his four wives and a number of warriors. Their arrival was celebrated by a pipe dance. This ceremony was conducted as follows: The wives of the two chiefs, myself, and several old men of the tribe were stationed in the center of the ring. At its side stood the Spotted Leopard, with a lighted pipe made of red sandstone. As the warriors danced around, each, as he came opposite the chief, received the pipe at his hands, took a whiff or two, and handed it back. This ceremony was accompanied by one of their wild and peculiar songs, and when it was concluded, Moko came forward with the watch, kissed it, presented it to me, and turning about, broke through the circle of warriors, crying, and disappeared in a neighboring tent.

I caused it to sound the alarm, probably a dozen times, when the Spotted Leopard approached me with Kianceta by his side. Into the possession of the latter, the weird, mysterious thing, through which the Great Spirit spoke in a strange voice, was delivered, and the crowd dispersed.

Kianceta, the Weasel, was tall and slim, and erect as the young cedar that grew on the bank of the Boge Lescoha. She had an easy and elastic gait, as if shod with velvet springs, and in her movements there was a nameless grace and dignity which drew all eyes after her, as the magnet attracts the steel. She was dressed in buckskin moccasins, and leggins colored red—a blue broadcloth skirt, tastefully embroidered with beads, and over this a bright calico short gown—articles obtained from the Mexican traders. Her long hair, blacker than the feathers of the crow, fell down

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
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posed to be somewhat fastidious. The chief sent for some half-dozen, submitting them to my inspection, before a choice was made. Some of them were hideous, either lank and cadaverous, or fat and flabby, having a fiery red new moon painted over each eye, and the full moon in the center of the forehead. These were rejected without hesitation or ceremony. At length one was brought that was pronounced entirely satisfactory. She was small and slender, very young and very agile. There was the grace of nature in her carriage, and, besides, she was not quite as filthy as her companions. She was arrayed in the latest Indian fashion when brought in for examination, wearing prettily embroidered moccasins, colored leggins, calico short gown of many colors, with a great diversity of beads braided profusely in her hair. She was distinguished as the most expert swimmer and deepest diver in the tribe; wherefore, they had bestowed upon her the name of *To-ma-no-a-ku-no*, the Sleek Otter. Altogether, she was rather a dirty but very comely maiden, in no wise equal to Kianceta, the Weasel, but much fairer than the great majority of her race. With her I entered into the holy estate of matrimony for the space of one moon. After the wedding festivities, the squaws generously assisted her in building a tent, bringing in presents of buffalo skins wherewithal to construct it, after the fashion of a donation party; and when it was finished, we moved in and "went to keeping house." The Sleek Otter made me a faithful and affectionate wife, skinned the deer, cooked the venison, pounded the corn, mended my moccasins, and in all respects performing her conjugal duties with cheerfulness and alacrity. The course of true love ran so smooth that we glided harmoniously through the third moon, and, therefore, became irrevocably joined.

Subsequent to the marriage my privileges were very much

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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His-oo-sán-chees (The Little Spaniard)
From a painting by Catlin
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[Facing p. 15]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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drink the few cupfuls of water carried in buffalo paunches to supply the children.[16]

In very early times, if we take what we know of the Shoshones as the measure, the Comanches could not have taken much interest in sartorial splendor. Even in later days their work-a-day garb was simple and crude. They hardly looked like the popular conception of the painted, beaded, and befeathered Indian. For festive occasions, however, they had their fancy dress garb, and young men, especially, liked to think of themselves as dandies. A *tuiβItsi* was much to be admired, and if asked what a *tuiβItsi* is, any Comanche will answer, "A handsome young man with shiny black hair, all dressed up on a good-looking horse." The *tuiβItsi* had his counterpart in the *naiβi:* a good-looking girl with long braids, painted and all dressed up in a good buckskin dress. When there were dances or when the band was moving from one camp site to another, the *naiβi* and *tuiβItsi* liked to parade and show off to the admiring glances of the people—and each other. Adult Comanches also liked to dress up, but they were not so self-conscious about it.

Boys, until they reached the age or eight or nine, went entirely nude unless the weather was severe. Regular attire generally consisted of breechclout, leggings, and moccasins only. The former was a broad piece of cloth or buckskin drawn up between the legs and passed under the belt both behind and before. The ends, one in front and one behind, formed loose, hanging flaps which extended almost to the knees. The length of the breechclout depended, of course, upon the size and height of the individual, but would probably average six feet for an adult male. Since blue was the favored color for formal or dress-up occasions, some early observers believed it to be the predominant color.[17]

A vestige of the breechclout is still worn by conservative Comanches in the form of a gee-string beneath their Levis. It is nothing more than a braided cord passed between the legs and wrapped about the waist. It cannot be seen, is not decorative, but is magically protective of the male's sex organs.

[16] C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 60.

[17] Informant: Medicine Woman; also, Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 184; David G. Burnet, "The Comanches and Other Tribes of Texas and the Policy to be Pursued Respecting Them," in Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, I, 234.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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291 Comanche leggings were of buckskin and extended from the foot to the hip. They were close-fitting and were attached to the belt. The border of the material beyond the seam was left loose, presenting a wide margin of flapping buckskin. Those intended for dress occasions were likely to be red or blue.[18] They were distinguished among other Plains Indian leggings particularly by their long fringes. Leggings were sometimes beaded, but the ornamentation was usually attached to the fringe and might consist of bits of silver or other metal, beads, shells, elk's teeth, or anything that appealed to the wearer's fancy.

The moccasins of the Comanches had buckskin uppers with a seam down the heel, with the lower border of the upper sewed to a stiff sole of tanned buffalo hide. Like the leggings, Comanche moccasins could be distinguished by their long fringes. The fringes ran from the lace to the toe and along the seam at the heel. They were relatively short on top of the moccasin, but those on the heel were from six to eight inches in length and might number as many as fifty or more. The tail of a polecat or some other animal was occasionally used instead of the fringe of buckskin strings. In addition to the fringes, moccasins were ornamented with beads and small jinglers. Beads of various colors, including dark blue, light blue, white, and red, were strung, and the string sewed to the moccasin. Strings of beads extended along the seam at the heel and around the opening at the top of the moccasin, and from the lace almost to the tip of the toe. Small pieces of metal were often attached to the ends of the fringes.[19] Although the Abbé Emmanuel Domenech related that the Comanches extracted silver from mines near San Saba from which they manufactured ornaments for themselves and for their horses,[20] there is a lack of evidence to support his statement. Certainly most of what they used was traded from the Mexicans.

For winter foot gear the Comanches made genuine arctic boots of buffalo hide that reached to the knee. The whole boot was made with the wooly hair of the buffalo inside and with the soles folded

[18] Informant: Medicine Woman; also, Burnet, "The Comanches and Other Tribes of Texas and the Policy to be Pursued Respecting Them," in Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, I, 234; Gregg, *op. cit.*, 432.

[19] Direct observation of Comanche women making moccasins by Wallace.

[20] Abbé Emmanuel Domenech, *Journal d'un Missionnaire au Texas et au Mexique*, 125–26.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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291 up higher at the sides than for moccasins. Unlike moccasins, they were loose fitted so that cloth could be wrapped around the feet in extreme weather. Under the boots, the buckskin leggings were always worn as well. The soles and feet of the boots were greased to waterproof them, but not the legs.[21] All in all, it must have been a good winter foot covering. Poor people, according to She Invites Her Relatives, "got pretty cold." They had no boots and had to be content with ordinary moccasins and trade cloth wrapped about their legs.

Early plainsmen claimed that they were able to identify the tribe to which a party belonged from the moccasin tracks. To some extent this was true, for the heel fringes, the nature of the soles, and the toe forms left distinguishing marks. The one-piece moccasin was typical among the Northern Plains tribes. Instead of the buckskin heel fringes, the Cheyennes, for example, used two small tails of deer skin, a buffalo tail, or a strip from the beard of the buffalo which trailed behind. The short, stubby foot of the Comanche left a track that provided an additional means of identification.

Shirts worn by the men were made from the skins of deer, antelope, or mountain sheep. They were made by sewing two pieces together in such a way that the pattern conformed to the natural con-
[292] tour of the skins. The ornamented shirt was more or less a ceremonial uniform of chiefs and important warriors. On the other hand, the shirt itself, stripped of its ornaments and accessories, seems to have been the precise pattern worn in daily routine in cold weather by the northern Indians. Clark Wissler believes that the shirt was not in early use among the Comanches and other southern Indians.[22] Neither Dodge, Marcy, Burnet, nor Neighbors mentions the shirt as being a part of Comanche attire, but "Dot" Babb and our informants definitely state that it was worn in cold weather prior to the reservation era.[23] The neck of the shirt was cut in a V-shape, and the shirt extended below the top of the leggings, measuring about two and one-half feet from the cut of the neck to the bottom. The garment was generally richly fringed around the collar and sleeves, the buckskin strings often extending twelve inches or more in length. It was also ornamented with beads, metal, and scalps of enemies.

[21] Informants: Holding Her Sunshade; She Invites Her Relatives.
[22] Wissler, *North American Indians of the Plains*, 47, 48.
[23] Informant: She Invites Her Relatives.

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291 After the acquisition of bandannas, the man wore one around his neck. Instead of tying it in front, he used a button made from buffalo bone through which he pulled the ends of the handkerchief. The older men still wear bandannas in this manner.

294 There was a time when the art of sewing was unknown and when garments were tied together at the seams, but in modern times clothing was neatly sewed with sinew thread, which was very stout and durable. Such thread was made from the sinew lying along either side of the spine of the buffalo or deer. It was taken off in long pieces and dried, and strands of it were split off with the finger nails as needed. The strand of thread was then moistened in the mouth and rolled on the knee with the palm of the hand or between the palms, and one end of the thread pointed. With an awl a hole was made in the material, the fine point of the thread was passed through the hole, and the thread pulled through with the fingers.

294 413 Awls and needles were usually made of bone sharpened to a fine point. Steel substitutes were among the first articles traded by the whites to the Indians, but the methods of sewing remained practically unchanged so long as leather was used for clothing. Sewing implements were carried in a small case made of dressed buffalo cow or calfskin tied to the belt. Such cases usually opened at the top with a flap. The awl was also carried by the men as a part of their everyday outfit, since it was an essential tool in their work. The men carried it in a small leather pouch with a flap covering, attached to the wrist by a buckskin thong. Pouches were ornamented with variously colored beads in simple design and sometimes fringed with metal pendants.

291 294 The buffalo robe was a regular part of the wardrobe. Hides for robes were taken during the fall months of November and December. Some robes were prepared with the hair left on for use in extremely cold weather, while others were prepared with the hair removed for milder weather. Some specimens retained the holes around the edge through which pegs were driven in stretching the hide. Minor alterations in shape were made by cutting off the tail and legs and by tucking the ears through slits from the outer to the under side. The Comanche robe was usually made of two separate pieces sewed together down the center, because the buffalo was skinned by cutting

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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down the spine. A very narrow (one-quarter to one-half inch) line of red paint down the middle concealed the stitching. Ordinarily a man's robe had no other decoration. Robes ranged in size from about twenty by thirty-six to approximately seventy-five by one hundred inches.

The robe was one of the warmest and most protective coverings that could be devised against low temperature, for the buffalo in November and December was covered with a dark, seal-brown coat of wool intermixed with hair, which on some of the bulls measured from seventeen to twenty inches in length. Plainsmen and soldiers stationed at the frontier forts claimed that one buffalo robe was warmer than four ordinary blankets. Many overcoats were manufactured by the government from buffalo robes for army men exposed to severe weather during campaigns against the Indians. Lighter robes were also made of bear skin, for which two hides were required, gray wolf, calling for four skins, and coyote, for which eight skins were needed. Rarely, even skunk fur was used. And for babies and children rabbit-skin robes were provided.[24]

There seems to have been no difference in the robes of men and women except that those worn by the wives of great warriors and chiefs were painted.

The eight Comanche robes found by J. C. Ewers in American museums in the nineteen thirties all had the so-called "hour glass" figure in the center. This figure is nothing more than a highly stylized, geometric representation of a buffalo. A geometric border runs around the outside of the field in all the women's robes. In its distribution the Comanche "hour glass" and border design is definitely Southern Plains, for it is shared for the most part only by the Wichitas, Kiowas, Apaches, and Río Grande Pueblos (presumably Taos). The feathered sun symbol, popular on robes to the north, was not used at all by the Comanches. Robes worn by the wives of noted warriors often carried markers symbolizing the coup, or war honors, of their husbands.

The preparation of a Comanche painted robe was a serious undertaking. Usually three or four women worked together under the direction of a skilled and experienced leader. Before the painting was done, they took the gelatinous scrapings from the under side of the

[24] *Ibid.*

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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294 hide and boiled them down in water until the concoction made a glue-like sizing. It was spread over the surface to be decorated and
[386] served as a fixer for the paint. The paints, which were mineral pigments in water, were pressed into the hide with the edge of a patella. After the design was completed, the hide was sized once again. Such
[428] robes, although they could be buried with the owner at her funeral, were usually inherited by a younger sister.[25]

291 293 Both men and women normally went bareheaded, except in bad weather when the robe was pulled up to form a kind of temporary hood, but in later years many Comanches wore fur caps made of buffalo calf or coyote skins. Warriors sometimes wore a coiffure of buffalo horns or a hood made of the scalp of the buffalo with the horns attached in proper position as a part of their ceremonial attire. For special state or ceremonial occasions, feathers were worn as plumes or woven into a hood or war bonnet. The Indians of the East wore a narrow head band into which feathers were stuck upright, but the Comanches and other Plains Indians wore a kind of cap around which the feathers were placed so as to droop and spread backward, and not infrequently the cap supported a streamer.

293 Clark Wissler believes the war bonnet was not regularly worn prior to the reservation period by the Plains Indians, although by 1834 feathers were worn on the head as a badge of distinguished service throughout a wide area of the Plains.[26] His conclusion regarding the use of feathers by Plains Indians in general is fairly well substantiated by evidence regarding the Comanches. Had the war bonnet been worn, some of the early visitors would certainly have noted it. It was too conspicuous to have been overlooked. David G. Burnet mentioned the buffalo-horn headdress but not the war bonnet. Several accounts relate that feathers, particularly those of the eagle, were worn in the hair by warriors. Captain R. G. Carter, who was with Colonel MacKenzie in the campaigns against the Comanches in the eighteen seventies, was one of the first to mention feathered war bonnets of the "most unique and fantastical designs" as though they were regular and proper dress on special occasions.[27] They certainly never became

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] Clark Wissler, *The Relations of Nature to Man in Aboriginal America*, 52–61.

[27] Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 283.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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302 Black was the
[822] war paint—the emblem of death—but red, yellow, olive green, and blue were favorite colors. There appears to have been no uniform manner of make-up. One warrior painted his face red, his eyelids white, and streaked his face with black. Another painted one side black and the other yellow down to the waist; another wore red on one side and yellow on the other, with lines of black upon his cheeks.

304 Tattooing was not conspicuous in the Comanche tribe, but both
301 sexes tattooed the face and body, the chest being the most commonly used part of the torso.[28] Clinton Smith records that his chief had a black star tattooed on his chest.[29] The warriors were as proud of their battle scars as old-time German students were of their dueling wounds, and brought them out more conspicuously by tattooing around them.[30] Bears' claws, horse hair, mules' tails, beads, and other similar
[411] materials might be appended to the hair or about the body. Bands of rawhide or copper wire served to protect the wrist of the left hand from the slap of the bow string.

Another fancy of the Comanche male was to puncture his ears for rings. "A young man," says Breaks Something, "sees other men have their ears pierced. He comes home and wants to have it done too." This was in late adolescence. The young man asked one of his female relatives to pierce his ears. She took him to the lodge of a woman who had recently had a baby easily, so it would hurt less. There she heated a needle red hot (in the old days she used a cactus spine) and burned six to eight holes all along the helix of one ear. The other was punctured only three or four times. A greased straw was then run through the hole, taken out, regreased, and left in until the wound healed. The boy liked to have all the holes pierced at once, so he could wear all his earrings at once. The old-time earrings were long, thin shells obtained from the Mexicans. A few old men can still be seen who wear circles of brass or silver wire. The many shells were so heavy that the top of the ear bent over under the weight, but the discomfort was borne for the satisfaction it gave. As for the piercing service, it was done for the boy gratis.

●291 A Comanche woman clothed herself in buckskin. The luxurious

[28] Abbé Emmanuel Domenech, *Seven Years Residence in the Great Deserts of North America*, II, 281; Humfreville, *Twenty Years among Our Hostile Indians*, 184.
[29] C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 47.
[30] Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 178.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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fringe on sleeves and hems and colorfully beaded designs marked the dress of fashion. The dressmaker carefully worked the skins of the deer until they were soft and pliable—sometimes a muted lemon yellow and sometimes a buff color. The skirt was made in two pieces, with the legs of the deer skin making an uneven hemline reaching to the ankles. The skirt was sewed up the sides with buckskin thongs, and heavy fringe finished the hem and extended up the sides above the knees, with lighter fringe up the seams to the waist. The slightly flared skirt was broken above the knee by a narrow band of beading with long pieces of fringe at intervals below the beading. A scalloped band of narrow beading was attached just above the hem. The blouse was made poncho-style from the skin of a single animal. A slit was cut horizontally in the center, creating a high, straight neckline, which was brilliantly banded with beading extending across the shoulders to the elbow-length sleeves. Blouse and skirt were laced together at the waist with buckskin thongs, hidden beneath an ornamental skin peplum hanging in deep points to mid-thigh. Geometric medallions were beaded across the peplum in a band, and medallions of varied size and color were sewed across the front and back of the blouse. Just below these brilliant designs and continuing across the blouse were clusters of round beads, from which hung long leather and beaded thongs. A wide butterfly sleeve was formed by the loose ends of the skin. Colorful beads were scattered along the edge of the deep fringe line which finished the sleeves. Additional skin bands hung from the front and back of the sleeves, the fringed ends extending below the long, heavy fringing of the sleeves.[81]

The number-one wives of brave warriors wore an additional special decorative device, according to She Invites Her Relatives. A tongue-like appendage hung down from the neck, front and back. In the front it was fringed, while the back tongue, which was unedged, carried a painted symbol] in dark blue for each war honor of her husband.

The costume was completed by beautiful beaded moccasins. In winter highly ornamented leggings were worn to the knees, with only a knee-length buckskin dress above. In very cold weather the woman added a buffalo robe for warmth. The dress was comfortable

[81] R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 342; museum specimens.

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291 and easy to wear. Although there were variations to suit the individual taste and needs, the general pattern remained fairly uniform. A Comanche woman in motion was a graceful sight, with the gorgeous fringes swaying with every movement and the brilliant patterns of beading glittering in the sunlight or firelight.

302 The woman wore her hair cropped and traced the part line with vermilion, although she seldom went to the trouble of combing or otherwise caring for her hair; it just hung loose. The care that did not go into her hair was devoted to facial make-up. Her eyes were accentuated with red or yellow lines above and below the lids and sometimes crossing at the corners. Her ears were painted red inside, and both cheeks were daubed with a solid red-orange circle or triangle. [301 She also occasionally tattooed her face and breast, and wore bracelets 304] and necklaces. As a parallel to the strong institutional friendship be- [572] tween two men, two Comanche women friends might dress alike.

291 Little girls, unlike small boys, always wore some form of clothing. A girl wore a breechclout until near the age of puberty, when she donned the buckskin dress. She wore her hair long and in plaits.

292 Fine clothes were so prized for dressing up that each Comanche 415 had a wardrobe case made of rawhide, called *naʼsaḵɜna*. It was envelope-shaped, laced together at the edges, and had a tie-down, fold-over flap. Thus it was different from the parfleche, or *ɔyɔ:t*, as the Comanche called the meat bag. In his case he kept his best suit, his leggings, moccasins, blanket, and braid wrappers. It was up to his mother to care for his wardrobe.

If he had a war bonnet or feathers, they were kept separately in a tubular bag, called *tunawɔs*, that could be slung from his waist as he rode his horse, so that they could be ready for instant donning in case of attack. In this bag was also carried war paint, a brush, and a mirror after mirrors became available. If the occasion arose, a Comanche wanted to look his best.

342 Home to the Comanche was his tipi, or conical skin dwelling. It represented a wonderful combination of utility and portability, for it could be raised or lowered within minutes. It was constructed of tanned buffalo hides sewed together and stretched, flesh side out, over a conical framework of from twelve to thirty poles. The standard number in the opinion of modern Comanches was twenty-two poles.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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A Comanche woman, the wife of Milky Way, in 1872
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[Facing p. 110]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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Buffalo Hump

Courtesy National Archives

[Facing p. 174]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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Horse Back (Kiyou)

Bureau of American Ethnology photograph
Courtesy Denver Art Museum

[Facing p. 175]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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Quanah Parker and one of his wives, in 1892
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[Facing p. 238]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4. 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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Quanah Parker's children, in 1892

Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[Facing p. 239]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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Ten Bears, in 1872

Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[FACING p. 270]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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Mumshukawa

Bureau of American Ethnology photograph
Courtesy Denver Art Museum

[facing p. 271]

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945)1952
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Gets to Be a Middle-aged Man (Tenewerka), in 1933, one of the Comanches who stole the horses from the stone corral at Fort Sill in 1878

Photograph by E. A. Hoebel

[Facing p. 334]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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Voice of the Sunrise (Tabananika), chief of the Yamparika

[Facing p. 335]

Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Albert Attocknie (Lone Tipi), in 1924
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[Facing p. 360]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Hair Hanging Down, in 1930
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[facing p. 351]

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4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
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Left—Toyo, 62 years old.

Right—Chief Millet, Kwahadi Band, 69 years old.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Left—Wilbur Pewo, 42 years old.

Right—Knox Tokawann, 48 years old.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Left—Mrs. Peecher, Kotsoteka Band, 55 years old.

Right—Petarsy, 49 years old.

[pp 320-end not processed]

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

142 little beard."[8] However, it should be remembered that there had [144] been some Mexican admixture with the Comanche blood even as early as Catlin's time. All accounts agree that the women were generally low of stature, ugly and repulsive in appearance.

302 The men wore their hair long and generally ornamented it profusely, while the women cropped their hair close to the head. A Comanche dandy was most fastidious about his appearance and spent much time in the preparation of his toilet, especially if he was about to enter the presence of strangers. He did not shave, but instead, plucked his face clean of its scant growth of beard; and sometimes he also pulled out his eyebrows.[9]

vc 291 The dress of the men consisted of leggins and moccasins, a breech cloth or flap, and a buffalo robe thrown over the shoulders if the weather was cold. Catlin's picture of a chief's children, made near Red River in 1834, shows the younger children naked, while the larger girls were comfortably and decently clad in buckskin, including mocassins, leggings, and a slip or dress with sleeves extending to the elbows and skirts well below the knees. Naturally there were many variations in dress and the buffalo and buck-skin were gradually supplanted by cloth and blankets secured from traders.[10]

291 A combination of the savages and civilized in dress sometimes 177 produced ludicrous results. A description of a prominent Comanche as he rode into camp on the Clear Fork, in Shackelford County, in 1854, runs thus:

> Naroni rode in grand costume. He wore an old blue military coat, with tarnished epaulettes, and covered with bullet buttons, a wampum necklace, almost equal to a breast-plate, numerous ear-rings, finger-rings, and a large ring in his nose, completely encircling his mouth, and bright red leggins.
>
> But his crowning glory was his head dress. From the crown of his head started out four long eagle's feathers, two on

8. Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana, in the year 1852, by R. B. Marcy, Captain Fifth Infantry, United States Army, assisted by George B. McClellan, Brevet Captain, United States Engineers. Washington, 1854; 33 Congress, 1st Sess. House Document (not numbered), page 98.

9. Special Report of Surgeon Alex B. Hasson, Fort Phantom Hill, 1852, in the Gazette, Austin, 1857.

10. North American Indians, II, plates 165-172. See, also, Marcy, as cited 98-99.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

each side. To the center was attached his buffalo hair plait, studded, at intervals of an inch or two, with enormous silver medallions, of an oval shape, and at least four inches in largest diameter. This plait swept the ground, and he seemed to set great store by it, as nothing would induce him to part with one of the ornaments. A rifle and bow, quiver and arrows, completed his costume and equipments; but being slender in figure and short in stature, his appearance was not at all imposing.

In contrast to Naroni other Indians are described:

"Straightfellow was very miserably clad, dirty and ragged, with a very forbidding countenance, indicative of cunning and cruelty." While the women impressed the writer as being "Ugly, crooked-legged, stoop-shouldered, squalid and dirty, with haggard and prematurely old countenances, their hair cropped close to their heads, and with scarce a rag to cover their nakedness.[11]

The wonderful physical stamina of the American Indian has often been commented upon by enthusiastic writers who have been wont to contrast their rugged physiques and powers of endurance with corresponding qualities in the softer and more effete civilized people. Doubtless nature, manifesting herself in the harsh environment of the plains country, mercilessly worked towards the elimination of weaker individuals so that those who survived to the age of maturity were generally sound. However that may be, it is certain that the Comanches had lost this physical superiority (if, indeed, they ever had it) by the time they had completed their southward migration. The fecundity of the women was low for a savage people, death of the mother at child-birth was not uncommon, and rheumatism caused much suffering. Diseases brought by white intruders, such as Cholera, Smallpox and syphilis swept away many of the savages.[12] For smallpox they had no remedy other than the sweat bath followed by the cold plunge.

11. W. B. Parker, Notes Taken during the Expedition Commanded by Captain R. B. Marcy, U. S. A., through Unexplored Texas, in the summer and Fall of 1854 (Philadelphia, 1856), 194.

12. The archives of the Indian office of the Republic of Texas, at Austin and of the United States Indian Office at Washington contain references to these diseases too numerous to cite. Also, the Bexar Archives and the Archive General, at the University of Texas and Mexico City respectively, indicate that during the Spanish period smallpox frequently ravaged the Comanche bands. For more general statements see, The Report of Alex B. Hasson, as cited and James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, I, 173, 239, 168, 172, 176, 274, 311, 177.

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

most abject slavery. It is impossible to conceive of a more absolute despotism, than that under which the wife is held by her husband in these savage wilds. When they hunt the buffalo, she must carry his gun, and whatever else is to be carried; when he shoots the buffalo, it would be infinitely beneath his dignity to put his hand to it afterwards; she has it to skin, to cut up the meat, and, whatever be the distance, or the difficulties in the way, the poor creature must carry the hide, meat, and all, to the camp, and if it cannot be done at once, she must go and return until it is done. At the camp, she has to do all; to provide the fuel, to fetch the water, to dress the buffalo skins, to dig the grave, and bury the dead. Her lordly master will seldom so much as turn himself, to get a drink of water, or to get his moccasins, or indeed anything he might please to want. In all the above, he speaks, and is instantly obeyed. Never, until I was shut up in the horrible shades of pagan darkness, where the long night of Nature holds her iron reign, did I see and feel the indebtedness particularly of my sex to the precepts of the gospel of Christ! (Would not the publication of it to these poor heathen do them some good? Would not its peaceful and equalizing precepts, help to raise these poor oppressed females, could they be brought to bear upon their cruel husbands?)

In their apparel, they differ little (as I should suppose) from other tribes, unless it be in the

10: Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

291 mournful fact, that much of it is obtained from those unfortunate individuals, who fall victims to their cupidity. They cut off the hair from the back 302 part of their heads, leaving it in front, the longer the better, and which they divide so as to bring it down from each temple, and to this they fasten any other that they can get, until it nearly reaches the feet. The savage who cut off mine, wore it in this way, and took frequent opportunity exultingly to remind me of it. But their cues with them are indispensable, and if they cannot obtain them in [237] one way, they will in another, and horse-hair answers in the room of better. They do [57] them up usually in strips of red and blue cloth, carefully winding it closely from the top to the extremity, with the red on one side, and the blue on the other. 301 To a small tuft of hair which they leave behind, is appended trinkets of the most trifling kind, such as old buttons, or any thing that will jingle, and on their arms and fingers they have a profusion of [726] rings of different kinds. Their ornaments are laid aside when they go out to war.

755 Their treatment of the sick is truly singular. When any of them, whether male or female, is considered to be seriously indisposed, they (the women) take all the grass and every other obstruction from a spot of ground sufficiently large to admit of the construction of two tents together; these are for the accommodation of friends. In the centre of the circle formed by the tent, they dig

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 make the cultural transition they have been called upon to
178 accomplish. As a result of its work, many tribal superstitions
177 are being discarded for modern scientific concepts.
[757] Although hardly a Comanche would accept a white physi-
[756] cian at the beginning of the reservation period, the Indian practitioner today is almost a forgotten man.

186 The Comanches are still confronted with many sociolog-
178 ical and psychological problems of adjustment. They have
177 not entirely disintegrated, nor have they been completely
182 assimilated. They are still Indian and want to follow the Indian pattern; their environment, experience, and teaching encourages them to discard it. They are intensely proud of being Comanche, and cherish their cultural heritage. They feel that they were unjustly robbed of their homeland, but know that they must make the best of their situation. The conflict between the old and the new often prevents the acceptance of any regular pattern of conduct and leads to confusion or unusual situations.

[291] The matter of custom is vital to the Comanches. It is
[302] difficult to discard tradition. Some old women still wear their blankets, and a few old men continue to paint their faces and to wear their hair in plaits. The tradition of gen-
431 erosity does not fit well in American society for it is an im-
[454] pediment to economic security. Their idea of a pleasant life does not include saving, because saving had no place in their primitive society. The give-away dance has not entirely disappeared, and those who give are the losers and afterwards may seek the aid of the government.

157 There still exists a strong incentive toward the glorifica-
181 tion of the individual. This character trait was a regular
[178] feature of the old social system, where the aim of the warrior was to gain glory and where there was constant acknowledgment of his achievements. It led to an immense
[152] sensitiveness to praise and censure. The Comanches, as a result, require more praise than the white man to function,
157 and they suffer more than the white man from censure. The
181 attitude was readily apparent in 1945. More than two hun-
701

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

and he may mutilate or beat her to the full extent of his capricious will. 593
In certain cases he is even permitted to take her life, without acknowledging responsibility to any one for his conduct. As among civilized people, 684
there are "common women of the tribe," outcasts from respectable Comanche society, just as there are outcasts from Christian society among the civilized people of Europe and America. These "Women" have no rights which Comanche ladies and gentlemen are bound to respect. The condition of slavery, which falls to the lot of all women of the tribe, is intensified in the case of the fallen. The others are slaves of one master only; these have many masters and many mistresses. According to our code of morals, the Comanche cyprian has been guilty of no crime, which all the females of the tribe who have arrived at the age of puberty have not committed. She has been unfaithful to the marriage contract, without consulting the wishes of her husband, and without bringing him any gain, and terribly is she made to suffer for it. She is beaten, with many stripes, [304]
and not infrequently suffers mutilation by having her nose cut off. This fixes the brand of her disgrace; and henceforth she becomes the slave of the tribe. There may always be seen a few of these miserable creatures about a Comanche camp. The women are especially cruel toward them, and take much apparent delight in beating them. And yet these same immaculate maidens and matrons have not once, but many times been made to endure the embrace of any purchaser at the behest of their husbands and fathers.

Custom has established laws among the Comanches as among more civil- 671
ized people. It is a law among them that a wife may be mutilated, or even 593
killed, for the crime of infidelity, and yet husband is not averse to select- 684
ing any number of lovers for her and compelling her to accept them, pro- 837
vided his worldly fortune is advanced thereby.

There is no prudish seclusion of Comanche maidens. They mingle with 834
great freedom among the people of their tribe. They may have their 584
beaux as well as their white sisters, and the gallants need have no fears of an over-prudent papa, or an irate "big brother." If there is a rough place in the course of the stream of affection, it is not the youth but the maiden that must suffer the castigation. A pony will suffice to satisfy the utmost requirements of the social law.

When a young Comanche gentleman takes it into his head to go a-wooing, 584
he decks himself with a profusion of paint, a gorgeous head-piece made 301
of feathers; dons his finest suit, puts on all the decorations of distinction 291
which he is entitled to wear, which usually consist of a necklace of wild- 237
cats' claws, coyotes' tails, the canine teeth of wolves, elks' teeth, and not

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

584 unfrequently the talons and beaks of the prairie eagles and falcons, a breast-
301 plate of "hair pipe," and perhaps a few bright plates of metal cut into the
291 form of crosses and crescents and sewed to his gorgeously colored suit of
231 dressed skins. So attired, with his face sometimes painted brown, or blue,
584 and at other times flaming in vermillion colors, or yellow as the victims
302 of "the plague of the Indies," the Comanche beau mounts his pony and proceeds to the lodge of his inamorata, dismounts, and, if the maiden comes and hitches his pony, enters and squats upon the ground; and displays his discontent with his lot by responding to every inquiry with a most dolorous
584 "Ugh! Ugh!" After manifesting his misery to an extent deemed sufficient, the Comanche young gentleman rises with great dignity, and repeating two or three knell-like "Ugh! Ughs!" he remounts and rides off without so much as deigning to utter a word. If the maiden he desires to woo does not take charge of his pony, that ends the courtship. He would despise himself and be the fool of the tribe to persist under such circumstances.

An account of this visit is carefully certified to the master of the lodge, on his return. Our dandy, like many civilized gallants, is always very careful to make his initiatory visit when paterfamilias is not at home. The way is now open for further negotiations. The girl is not usually again consulted. The young dandy has merely condescended to indicate his prefer-
584 ence for her. She of course must be delighted. If the father is a chief or
583 principal man in the tribe, he provides a dower for the daughter. The young suitor must be able to respond in equal measure in the way of presents of this world's goods. Sometimes a Comanche belle may have, as a portion, as many as fifty ponies. The suitor in such case should be prepared to turn over fifty-one ponies as a present to his would be father-in-law.
[585] If this can be done, a bargain is usually concluded. No further ceremony is necessary. The maiden and her fifty ponies become the absolute property of the young man. He has "swapped" fifty-one ponies for fifty ponies and got a wife, or rather slave, into the bargain.

585 When negotiations have been concluded, the dandy proceeds to the lodge of his bride, but not in the same plight as before. He enters, throws down his deer skin mantle, casts from him his weapons, and then orders the bride to enter upon her duties as a wife and slave by taking them up and proceeding to follow him to his own lodge, bearing the burdens he has thrown down for her.

[595] The bride may have three or four sisters, and they may all be wives of her husband before the expiration of a week. Mothers-in-law excite
606 little feeling, either of favor or aversion, among the Comanches. They play
585 a minor part in the affairs of the newly constituted households.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

175 178 624 man, if he was fortunate, could become a peace chief, but a peace chief possessed no real authority and functioned most importantly as a mediator in the disputes which arose among the younger men.

175 178 224 [789] 621 [222] With the greater food supply offered by the seemingly boundless bison herds, hunting magic decreased in importance. Antelope magic did persist from the Shoshone heritage. The more favorable living conditions and constant food supply also allowed the individual bands, which had retained their Basin characteristics, to become larger and to achieve a greater degree of independence from their sister bands. The emphasis on the buffalo as a food source also tended to decrease the importance of gathering and exploitation of the floral environment for food. Further, the Comanches made little or no use of fish and of such small game as rabbits (Lowie 1954:6).

175 178 [847] [727] [562] [593] [304] The Basin Shoshone practice of infanticide disappeared as the family group could more efficiently care for its offspring. The practice of enculturating slaves and captives became common among the Comanches in order to augment their numbers and specifically to free males for hunting and warfare. The stress on war and hunting also tended to debase the position of women, and such practices as the mutilation of wives, a custom which had never occurred in Basin Shoshone culture, came into practice.

175 178 771 [776] [715] [715] [758] [578] [721] [796] Patterns of religious belief and behavior also underwent certain changes from Basin life to the Plains. A vaguely defined belief in a Great Spirit persisted, as did the relative lack of concern with the afterlife. However, the intense fear of ghosts held by the Basin Shoshone diminished in the Comanche Plains culture. Also, the practice of power transmission from individual to individual, instead of power source to individual, developed in importance. The decrease in ghost fear and, it is assumed, witchcraft in Comanche culture, as opposed to the Basin culture, was greatly facilitated by the lessening of intrasocial tensions and the Comanches' ability, through warfare, to turn aggressions outward and away from the primary group. As a whole, Comanche religious patterns were exceedingly simple and lacking in elaborate ceremonialism and ritual, at least compared to their Plains neighbors (Hoebel 1940:83).

175 171 [621] [575] 796 [291] [342] The Comanches possessed characteristics, other than their paucity of ceremonialism, which served to differentiate them from other Plains tribes. The Comanche bands were more self-managing than bands found among other Plains groups. Warrior societies, a diagnostic trait of Plains culture, were lacking in Comanche society except in the most rudimentary form. The Sun Dance was not a vital aspect of Comanche culture. Decoration of clothing with beads, quills, and ornaments of bone, shell, and metal was deemphasized, while heavy fringing of the garments was the rule. The Comanche tepee was built on a four-pole base like that of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, and Shoshone; while the Comanches' historic neighbors, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache used a three-pole foundation (Lowie 1954:33).

72 [224] By the early nineteenth century the bison herds were greatly diminished on the south Plains, and the Comanches increasingly turned to raiding to augment their economy. During this period the Comanches raided New Mexico, the Santa Fe Trail, northern Texas, and Old Mexico, sometimes as far south as Durango.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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Yapai Comanche band "chief" in 1890. Sanapia's maternal grandfather.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

115 159 797 177 593 man's ways. They say, "We don't want to hear stories about white people that been dead for years . . . dead for a long time." That's what they tell him. When he prayed, some of those people, they tell him, "Who you praying to?" And he said, "Well, I pray to God because the white man told me to." And they just laugh at him. He catch them when they out of peyote meeting on Sunday mornings. Maybe he shouldn't have done that. You wouldn't catch my mother going over there with him. No!

115 159 797 177 291 When Sanapia's father embraced Christianity, he turned totally from all things Comanche; at least, this is the opinion of those who knew him. A photograph of his wife and him taken in the early twentieth century shows a massive man with short hair, stiffly posing, dressed in a dark suit, dark shoes, white shirt, starched collar, and tie. Beside him stands his wife, dressed in the cloth "squaw dress," apron, sash, and buckskin moccasins, a costume commonly worn by women in the immedite postreservation period, but displaying in her attire style not one trace of the effects of the surrounding white society. This photograph dramatically

142 302

Sanapia's maternal uncle.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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This photograph dramatically conveys the nature of a very far-reaching influence on Sanapia's life: a liberal father who attempted to incorporate into his person visible symbols of the white-Christian culture in which he found himself enveloped and an extremely conservative and traditionally oriented mother who had nothing but disdain for the symbols and values of white society. 115 159 797 177 593

Sanapia's mother seems to have been almost fanatical in her conservatism. For example, though she knew and understood English, she would never speak it in a white man's presence, feeling that somehow this would belittle her in the 115 159 177 593

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 21] 141

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Sanapia's mother and father.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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Sanapid's mother, 1909.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

be able to give her full attention to learning the skills of the eagle doctor. Much of this dissuasive effort was also aimed at Sanapia's older brother since it was the brother who had the prerogative of giving his sister away in marriage. However, after her training both the mother and the older brother immediately joined in a combined effort to find Sanapia a good husband.

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Sanapia, age 16 (left) and her young sister (right). Taken in Lawton, Oklahoma, 1912.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Black Kerchief

Sanapia keeps most of her medicines wrapped in pieces of black material which are commercially sold as women's head scarfs. These large black squares of cloth are also used by some males as Western-style ties. When Sanapia is traveling without her medicine kit, though carrying her Medicine feather, she keeps it wrapped in a black kerchief.

The black kerchief, worn knotted at the throat, is a customary sign among the Comanches and neighboring tribes of a possessor of Medicine. Sanapia was instructed to always wear the black kerchief as a symbol of her powers. She does not wear this badge today for fear of ridicule. Sanapia does, however, keep a black kerchief tied to the headboard of her bed. She states that black is the color of luck and good fortune. She also adds that it indicates to ghosts that the wearer is not afraid of their powers.

The black kerchief, or piece of black cloth, can be used in doctoring to cover the patient's face when he is instructed to inhale medicine smoke. Sanapia sometimes uses the black kerchief in this manner during the doctoring of ghost sickness.

Sanapia collecting medicines, 1967.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

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Sanapia preparing medicine.

but since Sanapia almost exclusively uses only the root of the plant for medicine, this concern with flowing water seems ubiquitous on medicine-plant-collecting trips.

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Her dosages of the various botanical[1] medicines follow the mystical number four found in the southern Plains area. The medicinal decoctions and infusions which she prepares are always given in units of four—four cupsful, four spoonsful, and so forth. Her externally applied medicines, such as salves and liniments, are administered with four movements of the hand; and when dried cedar leaves are employed to produce medicine smoke, they are deposited on the live coals in the course of four consecutive abbreviated motions of the hand.

128

In the following discussions, a standardized introductory line will be used for each plant when possible. The Comanche term for the plant will be presented first, followed by Sanapia's translation of the Comanche term. The English translation of the Comanche term will be followed by the binomial classification of the plant, which in turn will be followed by the English common name.

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ekapokowa:pi

"red berry cedar" *Juniperus pinchotii* (red cedar; juniper)

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

775 154 Comanches still incur ghost sickness and under conditions which they could have voluntarily avoided, conditions in which their culture assures them the ghost will be found. This strongly suggests the possibility that a Comanche may at some period in his life develop the need or desire to contract ghost sickness.

Preliminaries to the Treatment of Ghost Sickness

775 756 When an individual has contracted ghost sickness and has decided to seek Sanapia's aid in alleviating his distress, he first commissions an intermediary to arrange the initial interview between Sanapia and himself. This step can also be taken by the spouse of a patient. Since Sanapia is an older woman, the liaison should also be an older woman. The preferred intermediary would be a woman who had grown up with Sanapia, for they would be acquainted, would be of the [465] same age and sex, and generally would have the same background. The potential patient pays the older woman to "speak for him." The payment is usually made in money.

The older woman approaches Sanapia with the afflicted person's request for treatment. This meeting is very informal and does not appear to be bound with any ritual behavior. The liaison discovers if Sanapia is accessible, when she would consent to meet with the patient, what kind of payment she would require, and if there are any specific kinds of behavior which Sanapia would require of the patient. It does not follow that a woman who has known Sanapia for a number of years would be able to know the answers to these questions simply from previous experience with Sanapia. Sanapia's accessibility depends on her schedule or proposed activities, as does the time when she would meet with the patient. [465] Although the payment of a doctor is standardized to a degree, Sanapia will perhaps broadly suggest to the liaison that there is something which she needs and which would be readily acceptable as payment. Her opinion of the required deportment of the patient may change as her moods change, or perhaps as a result of a "real dream."

The importance of the liaison is stressed by informants who have been Sanapia's patients. Sanapia does not consider the liaison necessary, though she admits that she likes to know something about the person before he approaches her as a patient. The impression received from interviews with most informants who have been Sanapia's patients was that they really did not know exactly what was demanded of them when they desired to contract the services of a Medicine woman. The liaison also functions as the advisor on the deportment demanded of the patient by a Medicine woman.

775 756 391 376 When the first interview has been arranged and the patient is preparing to visit Sanapia, he makes a point to dress humbly. No jewelry is worn. His clothing should, by its poorness, add to the pitiable and humble image he wishes to present to Sanapia. He also must follow this theme in his conversation with Sanapia. The 775 754 574 [495] [514] patient must act the part of the pitiable supplicant who is throwing himself on Sanapia's mercy and good graces. This is the standard posture utilized in prayers,

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

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Sanapia, 1969.

The pervasive influence of acculturation is a fact which cannot be skirted, however, and perhaps it is at the core of the inconsistencies between Sanapia and the ethnographers of the early 1930s. Sanapia is particularly immediately affected by the changes wrought by acculturation and change because of the nature of her role. The notion of her "place" in Comanche society, plus the rigidly bound manner in which her behavior is directed by certain supernatural sanctions, forces her to react to change piecemeal. A Comanche not so bound as Sanapia to certain pre-

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32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

These young Indians had spent less time on horseback and more time inside, out of the weather; nor had they ever ridden the war trails. The women of this group took better care of their hair. The older women's hair generally had an untidy look.

This sullen aloofness and aimless drifting didn't affect the younger children—it seemed to set in when a boy got to be fifteen or sixteen years old. The younger children, when they arrived home on vacation, were bursting with energy. They rode their ponies helter-skelter over the prairies and rivaled the channel cat in Cache Creek with their cavorting, swimming, and diving.

They came to town with their parents—the girls riding in a hack or the little lumber wagon with the women. If it was the wagon, the bows and canvas cover converted it into a little prairie schooner. On a nice day the canvas would be rolled up a ways on either side, to let the air through.

Comanche men and boys never rode in the wagon or hack with the women. The boys would be riding along with their father, horseback. If there were not enough stock saddles to go around, the younger boys would be riding ancient Mexican-type saddles. These Mexican saddles had a flat look, compared to the up-to-date stock saddle. Neither the fork nor the cantle was as high, while the seat was broader. Its most distinguishing feature was the top of the fork. Thin, broad, and round, it made one think of a pancake. I am sure the tops of some of the horns were as much as four inches across.

Somehow, the youngsters always had a few nickels to spend for candy, cakes, and wax—their name for all kinds of chewing gum. The happy parents stood around and glowed in their pride. Sometimes the parents had one of the youngsters show off—they would have one of the boys interpret as they bought their groceries or other store items. They wanted everyone in the store to see how much their children had learned.

But all this youthful, happy exuberance suddenly vanished in the late teens. Few of the girls stayed in school as long as the boys, and the girls never got the good from their Carlisle clothes. About the second or third time they came to the store after their last year in school, they would buy some gay-colored, patterned calico along with matching cotton braid. The next time you saw them, they would be wearing a *pit-si-qui-na*.

The young men did wear out their white man's clothes, but seem-

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO5
Oklahoma

883 177 ingly remembered none of the white man's ways. And they seemed to have forgotten the old tribal ways as well.

[291] In my thinking, I found it convenient to put the women and girls 562 191 in yet another group. One of the first things I learned was the taboo which prevented women and girls from talking to men, Indians or white, other than their own menfolks, excepting on the most necessary [123] occasions. Because of this I never addressed them unless they spoke to me.

124 [123] I was consciously making every effort to learn as much of the language as I could, and in time I was able to catch on quickly to what the men were talking about and to follow their conversation. [198] But the women seemed to have a vocabulary of their own. I would often listen to a group of women talking in the store, or out in the camp, but I could distinguish only an occasional word.

657 871 Those who conceived of educating the Indian youths also conceived the idea that the educating must be done in faraway places, and little has been done through the years to change the practice. [171] Even as I type this article, several hundred Indian children from New Mexico, Arizona, and other western states are attending Chilocco Indian School in northern Oklahoma.

657 871 177 While in Carlisle or other Indian boarding schools, Indian children had slept in clean beds with sheets changed every week. They had sat in chairs at a table with a clean tablecloth and had eaten food served from clean dishes. They had been taught the use of the knife, fork, 178 and spoon. But when the Indian boy arrived home for good, he had only his parents' camp to go to. Though the Comanche families were living on their allotments, they continued to live a camp life, much the same as they had lived the previous twenty-five years as Reservation Indians.

352 264 In this camp our Carlisle graduate sat on the ground, or a log, or a goods box. He ate his food from a pie tin and was served directly from the kettle in which the food had been cooked. If a boy was lucky, he had a fork and spoon to go along with his pocketknife as eating utensils.

513 [342] Spring, summer, and fall they all slept in the brush arbor on platforms and under seldom-washed cotton blankets. When the northers became blue and came with regularity, they slept in conventional tents, either on the ground or on low platforms constructed with 342 poles. Once in a while, as I rode on my collection trips, I would see a

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

939 bedding, underwear, socks and stockings, etc. If there had been six more clerks, we could have used them all. Somewhere near the middle 643 of this selling-buying nightmare, I was aware of a large, tall Indian 439 [143] crowding in front of the Indian I was waiting on. He was taller than anyone else in the store, including myself, though I was approaching [291] six feet. With his large black Stetson hat, well-fitted blue serge suit, blue flannel shirt, and obviously bench-made, high-heeled cowboy boots, he was dressed like a prosperous cattleman.

643 His copper color and the large braid hanging down on either [142] side of his face onto his chest proclaimed him an Indian—not only [302] an Indian, but obviously one of the Old Fellows. This was my private designation of the Indians old enough to have ridden the war trails. They had to be in their very late forties and upward. None of this group had been to school, nor would they have spoken English if they had known how.

643 This well-dressed Indian now surprised me by asking in perfect 439 English, "How much do you want for that stove?"

This was the first time we had had a fire in the stove; but the fact that it was the only heating stove we had, plus the dozens of people—men, squaws, children—who had been crowding around it for hours, and were still crowding around it, and then the fact that I was just entered into my fifteenth year, all combined to hit my funny bone. I laughed as I answered him, "It couldn't be worth much of anything. It is just an old stove that came with our claim. But it is the only stove we have to keep the storeroom warm. We couldn't sell it."

With an air I am sure he considered superior, but which bordered more on the arrogant, the way he had been arrogant in crowding in front of the Indian I had been waiting on instead of awaiting his turn, he thrust his hand into his trousers pocket, brought out a wad of bills, and began looking through them.

As he was running through the bills, he continued talking: "You have this good house to live in. My women and children will live in a tent now. They need this stove. You don't. Here, I'll give you $20 for the stove." And he waved a twenty-dollar gold certificate at me.

Realizing how much in earnest this Indian was about the stove, I shook my head, saying, "The stove is not worth anywhere near such a sum. But we need it ourselves. We have a hardware store here now. Have you tried there?"

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

164 Albert's scalp was torn loose from just above the hairline on his neck to about the crown of his head. This had been stitched back in place with stitches about three quarters of an inch apart. Along the stitches, and on all the wounds that were uncovered, a white powder had been sprinkled. I assumed that this was powdered calomel, as it was supposed to be the best repellent for screwworm flies.

291 [158] Albert's body was exposed to the warm, dry air, aside from his breech-cloth or G-string. This is traditional covering for a Comanche boy's private parts, front and back, from the time he reaches puberty and throughout his life.

124 From this point, aside from a meager statement made by Big Jim, we are wholly dependent on circumstances for our reconstruction of what happened. Albert, Earny, and neighboring Indians contributed nothing to the overall information. Of course, no one wasted time trying to learn anything from the women. But the circumstances confront us with a succession of phenomena, or miracles, whichever you choose to call them.

177 The white doctor was barely gone when an itinerant cowboy rode into camp and asked for food. Hearing the women wailing, he learned 000 of Albert's accident and offered to set the broken bones. He washed and cleansed the wounds and protruding bones with yellow laundry soap such as the women used when they washed clothes in West Cache Creek. (I can testify about the soap. We sold many, many cases of it over a period of years. Its trade name was Lenox, but I don't remember who manufactured it. It was carried by all jobbers and was the cheapest laundry soap on the market. We sold it at a nickel a bar, six bars for a quarter.)

Should Big Jim's soap story sound far-fetched, let me introduce some corroborating testimony. Jim Carter, who for many years was both a member of the Oklahoma City police force and my personal friend, told me this story. When he was around nineteen, he was a line rider for a ranch out from Olton, Texas, in the Panhandle. Along with a lad two or three years older, he lived in a line shack about fifteen miles from ranch headquarters.

One noonday, after they had eaten, Jim started to mount his horse for his afternoon chore. The horse started bucking before Jim was in the saddle. Somehow his weight came down on his left leg extended across the saddle seat, and the bone in the upper leg snapped, about halfway between the knee and the hip. Of course, Jim fell to the

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

177 But even the cruelest gossip, if rehashed long enough, becomes tiresome, and in due time the vicious-minded turned their talents elsewhere. During the five years I remained in the community, nothing was added to, or subtracted from, the mystery of the Bone-setter.

871 By the time the town started holding races the following summer, [657] Albert was recovered sufficiently to ride his father's horses, and he [541] returned to the Indian boarding school in the fall. When he and Earny returned home at Christmas, Jim brought the two boys to the store to exhibit them in their blue school clothes. Albert had grown, unbelievably. Jim and I put him between us, and he was almost as tall as 541 we were. Earny was rejoicing at his brother's growth. It meant he 302 would now ride his father's horses in the races. The school people allowed Albert to wear his hair long enough to cover his scalp and neck scars, and he was truly a fine-looking young Indian man.

885 The Comanches had a word for him, but I was not to learn it for 884 some time. The word is *Tao-yo-vis-ses*, meaning a fine-looking young man of warrior age. The story is that in camp, after the fall hunt and before the bands went their separate ways to winter quarters, the boys who had become young men would clean and polish their finest [302] horses. Then, with their womenfolks assisting, they would carefully [291] comb and braid their hair, rub oil into their skin until it glistened, don their gaudiest breechclout and moccasins, and ride bareback slowly through the camp, single file.

The camp might well be strung for some miles up and down a creek or stream. The boys were joined by the girls who had reached [302] puberty but were not married. The girls, hair in two long braids, paint- [291] ed and dressed in new buckskin dresses and leggings, were equally proud of their bodies and bearing. The girl's name corresponding to *Tao-yo-vis-ses* is *Nai-vi-se*.

The older Comanches considered this the finest sight in all the world. Everyone came out of the tipis, young and old, warriors and chiefs, and they cried out over and over, "Tao-yo-vis-ses! Nai-vi-se!" There before them was the tribe's future—its chiefs, its war leaders, its warriors, and the bearers of the tribe's men babies. Here were "The People" of tomorrow's tomorrow.

Now Albert Martny, who but for the skill of the unnamed Bone-setter would surely have died, was a handsome young warrior. You may be sure, come the summer Grass-Money time, Albert's womenfolks presented their *Tao-yo-vis-ses* with pride.

33: Mooney E-3,4 (no date) 1907
NO6 Comanche NO6

101 **Comanche.** One of the southern tribes of the Shoshonean stock, and the only one of that group living entirely on the plains. [174] [648] Their language and traditions show that they are a comparatively recent offshoot from the Shoshoni of Wyoming, both tribes speaking practically the same dialect and, until very recently, keeping up constant and friendly communication. 174 Within the traditionary period the 2 tribes 131 lived adjacent to each other in s. Wyoming, since which time the Shoshoni have been beaten back into the mountains by

142 302 291

ASAHABIT—PENATEKA COMANCHE

174 the Sioux and other prairie tribes, while 131 the Comanche have been driven steadily southward by the same pressure. In this southerly migration the Penateka seem to have preceded the rest of the tribe. The Kiowa say that when they themselves moved southward from the Black-hills region, the Arkansas was the n. boundary of the Comanche.

[p. 327A]

175 131 In 1719 the Comanche are mentioned under their Siouan name of Padouca as living in what now is w. Kansas. It must be remembered that from 500 to 800 m. was an ordinary range for a prairie tribe and that the Comanche were equally at home on the Platte and in the Bolson de Mapimi of Chihuahua. As late as 1805 the North Platte was still known as

142 302 291

COMANCHE WOMAN

175 131 Padouca fork. At that time they roamed over the country about the heads of the Arkansas, Red, Trinity, and Brazos rs., in Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas. For nearly 2 centuries they were at war with the Spaniards of Mexico and extended their raids far down into Durango. They were friendly to the Americans generally, but became bitter enemies of the Texans, by whom they were dispossessed of their best hunting grounds, and carried on a relentless war against them for nearly 40 years. They have been close confederates of the Kiowa since about 1795. In 1835 they made their first treaty with the Government, and by the treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867 agreed to go on their assigned reservation between Washita and Red rs., s. w. Okla.; but it was not until after the last outbreak of the southern prairie tribes in 1874–75 that they and their allies, the Kiowa and Apache, finally settled on it. They were probably never a large tribe, although supposed to be populous on account of their wide range. Within the last 50 years they have been terribly wasted by war and disease. They numbered 1,400 in 1904, attached to the Kiowa agency, Okla.

175 648 648 657 131 161 [165]

[p. 327-B]

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

291

FIGURE 32. Pair of Comanche hard-soled moccasins. (USNM 147t.)

171

FIGURE 33. Pair of soft-soled moccasins of Caddoan type. (USNM 1466.)

[p. 181]

184 Two longer, complete feathers from a smaller bird are tied to the cord in a similar fashion. Probably this ornament was worn by a Comanche man at the back of the head, with the two longer feathers in an upright position, either as a war medicine or as a dance ornament. The circular ring is 17 cm. in outer diameter; the longest of the two complete feathers is 19 cm. in length. 30 237

Another Comanche feather ornament is composed of clipped turkey vulture feathers tied in line to a buckskin cord. (see Figure 31.) The length of this feathered band must originally have been 54 cm., although some feathers toward one end are now fragmentary. There are two buckskin tiestrings at one end, and one at the other. The length of this ornament suggests that it may have been worn as a headband or a neckband. 237

Comanche Moccasins Figure 32

Although moccasins are probably the most common objects in Plains Indian collections, the pair illustrated in Figure 32 is especially noteworthy as probably the earliest documented example of Comanche footgear, and one of the earliest examples of the hard-soled moccasin from the Great Plains. Each moccasin consists of two pieces, a rawhide hard sole sewn to a soft-skin upper. The upper is a single piece of skin so cut as to furnish the narrow tongue and upturned ankle flap as well as the foot covering. The maximum sole length is 27 cm., and the highest portion of the ankle flap, measuring along the vertical seam at the back, is 10 cm. Each moccasin also has a buckskin tiestring which passes through holes in the upper just forward of the ankle opening, one at each side and one at the center of the back. 29

Caddoan (?) Moccasins Figure 33

Berlandier does not claim that the moccasins illustrated in Figure 33 are of Comanche origin. They differ basically from the moccasins in Figure 32, each being formed of a single piece of soft dressed skin which provides the sole and covering for the foot as well as the relatively high-topped ankle flaps. These moccasins have no tongues. They are sewn in only two places, up the center back of the heel, and along the midline of the instep from toes to ankle opening, the front portion gathered and puckered over the toes. Each moccasin is 23 cm. long on the bottom of the foot and 17 cm. high at the vertical heel seam. Soft-soled moccasins of this general type had a wide distribution among the Woodland Indian tribes. Dr. Edward Palmer collected a pair of moccasins of this pattern among the Caddo in 1868.[18] The Berlandier specimen may also be of Caddoan origin. 17

Comanche Horsehide Pouch Figure 34

A Comanche pouch of undetermined use was ingeniously fashioned from the neck and mane of a horse. The mane serves as a decorative pendant to a pouch, roughly 12 cm. square, formed by sewing portions of two sides of the neck together at the sides with sinew. The pouch was carried by a rawhide cord of uneven width, which passed over the user's shoulder and was sewn to the top of each side of the pouch. 45 237

18. See Swanton, 1942, plate 13 (top).

188 y Tapia's watercolor of the Comanche man and woman.[19] Variants of this loose-fitting, poncho-like upper garment appear in Lino's watercolors of several neighboring tribes—the Lipan Apache, Tawakoni, Karankawa, and Cocos, although the Caddoan and Karankawan versions appear to be of more abbreviated form.[20]

Earlier descriptions of this type of garment in the literature suggest that it formed a part of the aboriginal costume of the women of the Southern Plains. In 1541 the Coronado expedition found the Teya women wearing "something like a sanbenitos with a fringe, which reached halfway down the thigh over the petticoat." They also found the Indian women of Sonora wearing petticoats (or skirts) of "tanned deerskin and little sanbenitos reaching half way down the body."[21] Onate noted in 1601 that in hot weather the Indian women on the plains near the Arkansas were clothed only "from the waist down."[22] Numerous references to painting and tattooing of the breasts and upper bodies by Tonkawan and Caddoan women also suggest that the poncho-like upper garment must have been commonly dispensed with in warm weather.

Nevertheless, among the Comanche this old style of skirt and poncho-like upper evolved into a skirt and blouse, laced together at the waist with buckskin thongs, before the beginning of the Reservation Period, and our earlier style is not even mentioned in Wallace and Hoebel's monographic study of the Comanche.[23] The specimen in the Berlandier Collection may be the only extant example of this earlier Comanche woman's garment.

Collar for Pet Antelope Figure 38

A collar for a pet antelope is illustrated in Figure 38. It is composed of a backing of red trade cloth to which is sewn with thread (not sinew) a strip of cloth 21 cm. long by 1.5 cm. wide, to which are sewn 62 rolled metal cones on short, individual buckskin cords. These cones made a jingling sound as they struck against each other whenever the antelope moved.

Skin Dressing Tool Figure 39

Berlandier's handwritten label, still attached to this specimen, reads in translation: "Instrument with which the Comanche Indians dress large buffalo hides." This piece (Figure 39) is a section of elk horn 27 cm. in length, which formed the handle of a woman's skin-dressing tool. The blade, of chipped stone or iron, is missing. It was fitted against the flattened inner surface of the downward-projecting head of the elk horn handle and held in place by a lashing of rawhide. Generally the lashing was applied wet, so that

19. See Plate 2.

20. See Plates 1, 13, 15, and 16.

21. Winship, 1896, pp. 507, 517. In a footnote to p. 507 the editor explains that a "sanbenito" is "a broad piece of cloth hanging before and behind" with a hole for the wearer's head.

22. Bolton, 1916, p. 258.

23. Wallace and Hoebel (1952, p. 85) describe only the later skirt and blouse in their account of Comanche women's clothing. Their field work among the Comanche was begun, however, in the 1930s. It is doubtful that even their oldest informant was born before Berlandier collected the garment described above.

[Sánchez y Tapia's watercolors have not been reproduced for the Files—Analyst.]

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6 ●

N C 386 824

Their brown color is made from the inner bark, roots and nuts of the walnut and of other trees, much in the same manner as our farmer's wives now dye their wool for home-made jeans.

N C 283 386

After the dyeing is finished, the wool is dried in the shade, and when well dried, exposed to the sun for a few hours; the dyeing is then complete, and the wool ready for spinning, except sometimes, perhaps, not always, they oil the wool slightly, and diffuse the dampness through it by rubbing and rolling it in the hands. I do not know the precise object of this, but they say it works better. This does not impair the color, for washing restores them to their first brightness. It seems to be the peculiar quality of the *set* that gives the lasting brilliancy of the color. I have seen the Camanche blankets, after being used for months, and abused by being put under the saddle, saturated with sweat, rained upon, slept in upon the naked earth, and when carefully washed, present the colors again, as bright as newly dyed silk.

N C 283

The spinning is what you would call twisting the thread; this is done altogether by the fingers, and somewhat similar to the ancient distaff, though reversing the order of operation. The distaff was used to wrap the raw material upon, and the spool or quill was used not only to wind the thread upon, but as the spindle to twist it. The Camanches reverse this order, and use the raw material for the spindle, and the spool only to wind the thread upon. They use no distaff.

A CAMANCHE SPINNING.

C [291] ●

In spinning, a small portion of wool only is used at a time — a mess, say, of a quarter pound weight, and shaped like an egg, say four or five inches long, and two or three in diameter, is wrapped around with a string sufficiently tight to keep it together, but loose enough at the point to permit the wool to be drawn out for spinning the thread — a small stone, of an ounce or so in weight, is tied on the middle of a stick of about six inches in length